

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED IN THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH
A T
LONDON-DERRY,

On *SUNDAY, September 13th, 1772.*

B E F O R E
THE JUDGES OF ASSIZE AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNTY
THERE ASSEMBLED.

By *THOMAS BARNARD*, DEAN of *Derry*.

Published at the Request of the Judges and Grand Jury.

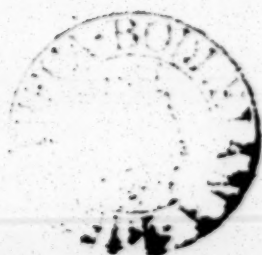
L O N D O N - D E R R Y :

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(76) . (17)

AT an Affizes held at *London-Derry* for the said City and County of *London-Derry*, the 12th of *September*, 1772, the Judges, High Sheriffs, Foreman, and Grand Jury of said City and County, have unanimously agreed to return their sincere Thanks to the Rev. Doctor BARNARD, Dean of *Derry*, for his most excellent Sermon preached before them on *Sunday* the 13th Instant, and earnestly to request, that he will be so good as to print the same.

RICH. JACKSON, FOREMAN.



MATTH. CHAP. xii. VERSE 25.

*Every Kingdom divided against itself, is brought to
Desolation.*

THE words of my Text contain a short Maxim, which the experience of all ages hath fully verified, and which the Divine Word hath farther authenticated, by appealing to it as an undeniable truth.

The Proposition is too simple to be misconstrued, and too clear to need any paraphrase; I shall therefore (without farther introduction) proceed to consider the scope of it in the following discourse, in the prosecution of which I shall,

First, Endeavour to shew under what circumstances a kingdom may be said to be divided against itself.

Secondly, I shall make such observations upon this maxim, as the present state of this country compared with the premises will naturally suggest.

In the moral world, as well as in the natural, effects are observed to be analogous to their causes; as in the one,

(a) Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles; so in the other, (b) Affliction cometh not out of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground. But there are constitutional reasons for the various calamities of states and empires, which (tho' they are too generally overlooked by those that are principally concerned in the event of them) a small degree of discernment enables impartial posterity to discover, and to trace them up to their Source. From a course of these observations, certain political maxims have been deduced, which, however they may be disregarded, are too self-evident to be disputed: That industry and frugality will make a nation rich; That poverty is the certain consequence of indolence and sloth; That luxury and effeminacy of manners is not less destructive of the courage and strength of a people than of their morals; That power and prosperity is the result of national union; and, That public Desolation is the fatal effect of unnatural Divisions in the state.

These observations by no means exclude the interposition of that Providence, whose kingdom ruleth over all; for second causes are but instruments in the hand of the Creator, who can make the flame of Discord his Minister to lay waste a kingdom for the wickedness of them that dwell therein, and the spirit of Peace his Angel *(c) to bow the heart of the people as the heart of one man*, when he willeth that it should be re-established.

Admitting

(a) Matth. vii 16.

(b) Job v. 6.

(c) 2 Sam. xix. 14.

Admitting therefore the undeniable truth of the proposition, *that every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation*, let us proceed to consider what species of Civil Dissention it is to which these destructive consequences are ascribed.

And here we are not to imagine, that all intestine divisions come up to this description: There must be parties in the state, as well as heresies in the church, since diversity of opinion is the natural result of human fallibility. Perhaps Loyalty and real Patriotism are as much manifested by these trials, as soundness in the Faith by the other. But Parties may be divided against each other, and the constitution still be at unity in itself; for all mixed governments (like our own) in some degree resemble the structure of the universe, in which the opposite powers of Action and Reaction mutually contribute to connect and cement the whole.

Indeed when the rage of party swells beyond its bounds, the public may severely feel its effects; but so long as the several factions continue sincere in their attachment to the constitution, and would unanimously join in promoting its interest, if they could agree about the proper means: However their divided opinions may disturb the peace, they do not endanger the safety of the realm, and therefore are not those divisions which bring a kingdom to desolation: Into the nature of which I proceed now to enquire.

The first and highest example of these unnatural and wasteful dissentions, is an actual state of civil war; the dreadful effects of which are too notorious, and the miser-

able condition of a people involved in that calamity too evident, to need any proof that it comes up to the description in the text, in the first and strongest sense of the words.

But 2dly. A kingdom may be divided against itself, long before it reaches this ruinous period : There are divisions which may prove as fatal to the state as open rebellion, and intrigues, as well as arms, may bring a kingdom to desolation.

When a King and his People are engaged in the pursuit of opposite interests, and that mutual confidence so necessary to their common security, is turned into jealousy and distrust.---When one branch of the constitution attempts to enlarge its authority, by encroaching on the lawful jurisdiction of another.---Or when the people, suspecting the integrity of their representatives, no longer place that reliance upon them, which is necessary to give weight to their proceedings; but, instead of supporting them in those powers and privileges (which they hold for the sake of their constituents, rather than for their own) absurdly join in attempting to abrogate or abridge them, on every little temporary inconvenience that may attend the exertion of them; thus weakening the hands of that body, to whom the protection of their liberties is intrusted: In all these cases, a kingdom is divided against itself.

3dly. When every rank and order of the community are in a state of hostility against each other: When the commonality, instead of being protected and cherished by their superiors,

superiors, complain that they are injured and oppressed: When the nobility, gentry, and clergy, instead of duty, respect, and esteem, meet with insult and reproach. Wherever the fault may lie, it cannot be denied, that a kingdom in such an unhappy situation is truly divided against itself. And tho' under all these disadvantages it may yet enjoy an apparent peace, and to the superficial observer, seem flourishing and secure; the disease lies lurking in its vitals, and ripe for breaking out with violence the upon the first favourable occasion. Thus may the drawn sword hang over our heads suspended by a single hair, and yet give us no disturbance, except we cast up our eyes and behold our danger.

These are a few instances of that fatal species of dissention which divideth a kingdom against itself. And we have Divine authority to assert, that wherever these divisions exist in any eminent degree, public desolation must be the consequence. May God avert it from this age and nation! But dismal as the prospect is, it concerns us nearly to look into our own present situation, and examine whether there are not evident symptoms of this plague being already begun among us, and just ready to shew itself in all its dreadful circumstances, if the skill of our political physicians, or a sudden and happy change in the temperament of the people, doth not speedily check and extinguish the disease.

The spirit of faction in every part of the British empire is risen to such a pitch, as no nation in a state of professed domestic

domestic peace ever yet exhibited an example of: And the true quarrel does not seem to be against particular measures of government, or certain persons employed in the administration of it, but against all government whatsoever. The former is, indeed, the pretence, but the various changes of men and measures which have been complied with to no purpose, in hopes of gratifying and appeasing the discontented, is a proof that pretended grievances are not the real cause of their murmurs and remonstrances. Legal liberty is their cry, but absolute independence is the mark at which they aim, except those among them whom ambition and self-interest urges to still more unjustifiable and less honourable ends.

I am far from supposing these to be the true motives of all those who are dissatisfied with their present rulers. The body of the people are commonly free from any evil designs against their country; but experience has fully proved, how easily they are misled by the suggestions of more artful heads than their own, to join in the worst of measures from the best of principles, a zeal for Liberty and the public good. There seems to be something so fascinating in that sacred word, that it always disables them from seeing thro' the most barefaced imposture, and qualifies any one who has the assurance to make Liberty the pretence, to lead the infatuated herd blindfold to their own destruction, let his character and actions have what tendency they will. That this is a faithful representation of the present state of Faction in these kingdoms, is what I believe no person will deny,

ny, except those whose interests or connexions engage them too deeply in the question, to be impartial judges. And if Civil War and Desolation be not the final result of this universal ferment, it must either be owing to the immediate influence of that Providence *who stilleth the raging of the sea and the madness of the people*, or to the selfish effeminacy of the age, which trembles at the thought of putting their own lives and properties to the hazard, tho' it scruples not to throw every thing besides into anarchy and confusion.

This fatal and destructive spirit of Sedition with which every part of these nations is infected, discovers itself in various shapes, according to the respective circumstances and interests of the different provinces which compose the extensive empire of Great Britain; but tho' all are, more or less, under the influence of this spreading contagion, it has no where a more malignant aspect, than in the neighbouring parts of this once happy and loyal island: A Country which has hitherto been looked upon, both at home and abroad, as the best security to the religion and government here established; the seat of industry and commerce, and the source of all our national wealth. Alas, how is the prospect changed! What person within these few years past would have believed it possible, that those who have been held forth as a Pattern to the rest of the kingdom for industry, integrity, and respect to the laws, should have been the First to set the pernicious example of taking up arms against those laws, to which their dutiful submission

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has been so long their happiness and their boast? That they who, upon all occasions, have vaunted themselves on being the best subjects that the King possessed, while the rest of their fellow subjects proceeded no farther than venting their resentment in seditious writings and discourse, or, at worst, in such popular tumults, as rather express insolence than disaffection, and leave no ill consequences behind them: That the Protestants of the North should be the first to carry their discontent into actual Treason and Rebellion? For such has been their crime; nor can the acquittal of the offenders, whether by the lenity of their juries, or from the public dislike to the mode of their trial, in any respect alter, or even palliate, the nature of the offence.

And tho' the flame appears now to be, in some degree, smothered and suppressed, and the country once more seems to wear the aspect of peace, the fire, I am afraid, still lies lurking in its embers, ready to burst out afresh with new violence, upon the first removal or relaxation of that force which originally checked its progress. For while the same spirit of dissatisfaction continues to subsist, while the real or pretended grievances, which were the cause of it, still remain unredressed, what reason have we to flatter ourselves that it is not equally ready to shew itself upon the first fair occasion, in the same ruinous effects as before? For what country may with greater truth be said to be divided against itself, than that in which every rank and order of men are at variance with each other? Where the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, have lost all influence over
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the minds of the People, and instead of being looked up to as their patrons, their protectors, and their friends, are hated and reviled as their enemies and oppressors; all mutual confidence being lost, and whatever shadow of authority or respect still seems to subsist, being only such as wealth and power on the one hand, and indigence and fear on the other, must always produce.

In the midst of this gloomy scene, while the storm seems to be gathering all around us, it is with the most sincere satisfaction I reflect, that this loyal City and its neighbouring district have still kept themselves uninfected by the general contagion. Animated as they have ever been with hereditary principles of genuine Liberty, they have on all occasions shewn themselves not less exemplary for their obedience to the laws, and their dutiful submission to just authority, the best and only security for those liberties which they enjoy. I trust that they will always persevere in the same happy disposition, and be as ready to take up arms, if necessary, in defence of the Constitution when attacked by seditious violence, as they have once been to support it against tyranny and illegal oppression. We have already, in some degree, experienced the advantage of this prudent and laudable conduct, in the profound tranquility which we have enjoyed, while the adjacent country was a scene of confusion and distress. Continue to pursue the same, if any fresh troubles should arise; and doubt not but that you will be able to repel and chastise all insolent invaders of your peace, and again have the honour of being

ing an asylum for such distressed strangers as shall fly to you for refuge and protection. We cannot, indeed, prevent nor cure the unhappy divisions of our deluded fellow subjects but while we are a city that is at unity with itself, we may keep these disorders at a distance ; and, at least, preserve ourselves from that Desolation which must be their consequence wherever they exist in any eminent degree.

It may, perhaps, be said, that the grievances of which the people of this province complain, are too well grounded ; and shall they tamely continue to submit themselves to oppressions, which, by a resolute opposition, they may perhaps remove ? Shall they basely lie down and crouch under their burdens, when, by a vigorous effort, they may shake them off ? Alas ! whatever may be the issue of such attempts, the remedy is far worse than the disease ; for without entering into the merits of the question, whether the poor of this kingdom have just cause to murmur or otherwise, yet any attempt to redress themselves by violence and rebellion, must certainly bring desolation upon their country and ruin upon themselves, even tho' it were attended with success, which is a supposition far from all probability, as shall be shewn in its proper place.

For in all attempts to redress public grievances of this nature by force, some opposition must be looked for, before the government and principal inhabitants of the country are reduced to submit to the demands of the insurgents.

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The first will never tamely consent to have its authority insulted, nor the latter their just rights and properties invaded, till they have first tried how far a proper exertion of that force, which God has put into their hands, may be sufficient to defend them. Experience has already shewn that the disorder has gained too much ground for legal opposition to controul it; it is highly probable, therefore, that the next appeal will be to the decision of the Sword. The immediate consequence of which (exclusive of the lives that must be sacrificed in the conflict) will be an universal spirit of dissipation and confusion, a total cessation of all agriculture, manufacture, and commerce; the certain effects of which are Poverty, Famine, and every species of Misery and Distress: Rapine, Violence, and Murder, committed at discretion on both sides with entire impunity; for in a state of War, the Laws are silent; and there is no other method of redress but retaliation, which only spreads and encreases the disorder. Those reputable and wealthy inhabitants, who now expend their property at home to the emolument of their tenants and their country, must either engage in the quarrel, or desert it through necessity, and seek an asylum where they can remain in security and peace. Those flourishing markets, which are now the support of this province and its pride, would soon be abandoned, by dealers of every kind transferring their attendance to those parts of the kingdom, where they could prosecute their business without disturbance; the course of trade would thus be turned into a

new channel; and when once we had so driven it from us by our own indiscretion, it would be years, nay, ages, before we could recover it again. Those who are the least acquainted with the nature of Commerce, well know, that it can only flourish where there is peace; that it instantly flies away from tumults of every kind; and being once diverted, how difficult it is to bring it back to its former course.

This is but an imperfect sketch of that Desolation, which any fresh attempt to disturb the peace of this country must inevitably bring upon it: Happy if it were only to fall on the heads of its disturbers; but in all public calamities, the innocent, as well as the guilty, are involved in the common ruin. And is the removal of any grievance or oppression now complained of, worth purchasing at so dear a price? Were the cause unquestionably just, and the success of the enterprise indisputable, yet these considerations would deter any friend to his country's interests, or his own, from seeking redress by such destructive measures. Much more when it shall appear, that the success of a popular insurrection in this kingdom is morally impossible; and that whatever temporary advantages they may gain over the more respectable, tho' less numerous part of their fellow subjects, they must at last most certainly be defeated in their design, and bring the vengeance of an incensed government, and an injured and justly exasperated enemy, upon their guilty heads.

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To give a popular insurrection any colour of success, it is absolutely requisite that some persons of superior weight and abilities should be engaged in it, to support it with their influence and counsel, to preserve order among the mixed multitude, and to conduct their proceedings with uniformity and discipline. Where this has been wanting, the constant experience of all ages has shewn, that numbers, or even valour, are of little moment. The largest body of men without experienced leaders, is but like a rope of sand, which has no coherence nor cement in itself, but will fall to pieces on a touch. The first regular opposition that they meet with, dissipates and confounds them; and when once they cease to be compact, they are no longer formidable, their counsels and their actions being equally weak and unstable.

Such is the case of those wretched peasants who have lately disquieted the peace of this Province, and still menace it with new disturbances. Without leaders, without discipline, without even unanimity to give vigour to their proceedings, in declared opposition to their superiors of every class, whom they have injured and incensed, by attacking their persons, their properties, and their consciences. Under all these disadvantages, it is easy to foresee, what must be the final issue of their contention against the united weight of the Power, the Property, and the Wisdom of the whole kingdom.

But perhaps they may derive confidence from their numbers, and think that multitudes and perseverance must at

length prevail against every other advantage on the side of their opposers. Yet, even admitting the possibility of this supposition, it will not ensure them success; for, if even the whole force of Ireland be insufficient to deal with its rebellious natives, a more powerful resource is at hand: The peace and the laws of this kingdom must at all events be maintained, and Great Britain is at leisure to chastise its seditious subjects, and assert the dignity of its government, in its exterior dominions still easier than at home, since that is a measure in which all its jarring factions will most heartily concur.

In short, another insurrection like the last, would be popular madness in the strongest sense of the word; and if the motives of it were as honourable and glorious as they are really unjustifiable, could only end in the confusion of those who were engaged in it, the desolation of this country for ages to come, and perhaps in the entire loss of those liberties, which its inhabitants had thus shewn themselves so unworthy to possess.

This consideration, whatever terror it may carry with it to the seditious and disaffected, is most satisfactory to all that are friends to the present happy establishment, and to the security of their religion and property in this kingdom. It is perhaps to this circumstance alone, that we owe the preservation of both, in the midst of domestic enemies who so greatly exceed us in numbers and strength, who have been taught by past experience, that the British interest in Ireland may be overpowered for a time, and yet rise again
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out of its ruins with greater lustre than before, as soon as its parent country shall exert herself in its cause, even to the destruction and extirpation of all its enemies.

They little understand the true interest of Ireland, who sigh for independency, who wish to shake off the protection of a Power, under whose shadow they have so long been safe. However advantageous such a state might be to a country where the bulk of the people professed the established religion, and the whole community had the same interest to pursue; if this divided kingdom was abandoned to itself, if the constitution had no other support but in the number of its own members and friends, the property of the whole island would soon change its masters, and the Protestant religion give place to that of the strongest party in the state; or, perhaps, like Britain itself, after it was deserted by the Romans, we should first be torn to pieces by our own intestine feuds, and at length become an easy prey to some new invader.

But however justly we may rely on the exertion of the British power for our present and future security, it is our duty, at the same time, not to be wanting to ourselves. A time may again come, when the domestic troubles of Great Britain may deprive us of her assistance on an emergency when we want it most. Prudence, therefore, should incite us to take such precautions as may preserve our tranquility, and rather destroy the seeds of future rebellions before they arise, than suffer them to grow to a head,

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in confidence of our own, or any other, force being sufficient to suppress them.

And first, notwithstanding the blame which is justly due to the violent and seditious proceedings of our fellow subjects, in which we have happily had no share, it may well deserve our consideration, whether those with whom we are more nearly connected, may not also have some grievances to complain of, some abuses that deserve a remedy, tho' they have taken no such unjustifiable methods of expressing their resentment. Redress comes with an ill grace, when it is extorted by terror or force; but when it is the voluntary result of justice or compassion, it seldom fails of meeting with a suitable return of gratitude and attachment from those who feel its effects. A small addition of income, wrung out of the sweat and toil of the industrious Poor, is a sorry compensation for the loss of their affection and esteem, if that were the only evil that attended this species of Avarice and Extortion; still less, when we consider that it may also endanger the peace of our country, and the security of all that we possess.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that stipulations of this kind are voluntary; and since no man is charged more for the land he occupies than he has consented to pay, no injustice can be done him. But this method of reasoning is highly fallacious. Let the oppressive Landlord ask his own conscience, whether he has taken no advantage of his Tenant's necessity or ignorance, to engage him to promise more than the intrinsic worth of his land; that is, more than

than he can deduct out of the produce, and yet reserve such a comfortable subsistence, as ever ought to be the reward of honest industry. If that be the case, supposing the agreement to have been perfectly free and voluntary, he has yet imposed upon the ignorance and inexperience of his neighbour, and is guilty of a fraud. If, on the contrary, he knew the nature of the demand, and tho' he was sensible of the hardness of the terms, distress obliged him to comply with them: To take advantage of that distress, is oppression. An agreement under such circumstances, would, in any other instance, be deemed unjust; and why it should be otherwise in this case only, is more than I can possibly discover.

But if Avarice and Rapacity be unjustifiable in those who are under no particular ties, but those of Justice and Humanity, they are infinitely more inexcusable in those whose very profession calls them to the exercise of benevolence and contempt of riches in an exemplary degree, and whose revenues were given them for the purposes of Charity, Liberality, and Good Works: Oppression and Extortion in a Clergyman is such a solecism in character, that I am willing to believe there are much fewer instances of it than is commonly imagined. Wherever it really exists, it is truly detestable, the occasion of much scandal to the cause of Religion, and may, in the end, furnish an apology for depriving the Church of a discretionary power over those rights and possessions, of which those unworthy members have made so ill an use.

But admitting these complaints to be for the most part without foundation, as I believe they are, it is yet matter of prudence as well as duty in this critical time of danger, to relax something of our just rights and pretensions; to err, if it be an error, rather on the liberal side, and thus endeavour to regain the alienated affections of our distressed flocks, whom poverty, or perhaps the oppression of others, has rendered incapable of doing justice also to us.

By such healing measures as these, we may perhaps again restore a durable peace and unanimity to this distracted country, without the fatal expedient of having recourse to arms to quell sedition. And if some such measures be not speedily pursued, the bringing a few wretched victims to justice, will have little effect in checking the progress of so wide spreading and so deeply rooted a disorder.

The Protestants of this kingdom especially are bound by the strongest tie (their common security) to avoid all divisions among themselves. They have a numerous and vigilant enemy to guard against, formidable enough to require their united opposition; an enemy that observes with pleasure, how greatly our intestine disputes tend to weaken our interest and promote their own. In other countries it is a sort of maxim, that the number of inhabitants are the strength and security of the state; but Ireland is an unfortunate exception to this general rule. This consideration should alarm us into union, and excite us to live together as friends and brethren; and whensoever we meet
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with men busy in sowing jealousy and dividing Protestants, let their pretences be what they may, we should mark those men, and avoid them, accounting them Popish emissaries in disguise, and enemies to the religion and liberties of this country.

Lastly, let us heartily unite in defence and support of that Government, by which alone our rights and properties can be effectually protected. An irregular pursuit of Liberty in its excess, is the likeliest means of letting in Tyranny upon us, and sacrificing the object of our wishes to our own unreasonable fears and resentments. There is nothing more inconsistent with a true regard to Legal Liberty, than that factious spirit of Independence which applauds every attack upon Government as an effort of Patriotism; another specious word, which, however misapplied, is found capable of seducing the unthinking multitude to zeal and fury they know not why. It has been shewn, that Sedition is a dreadful method of redressing even such grievances as are real; let it be our care not to create imaginary ones, and grow malicious under that extraordinary share of Liberty which we now enjoy. The true Patriot will consider every degree of public division as a step towards public desolation; for tho' the cloud of Faction be at first no bigger than a man's hand, it may at last overspread our whole horizon with horror and darkness, and burst upon us in such a storm, as may overwhelm our country with universal ruin and confusion.

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If we sincerely desire the continuance of that peace and prosperity which we have long enjoyed; if we are anxious for the security and encrease of the Protestant interest; if we wish to preserve our country from desolation, our properties, and even our liberties, from invasion; let us concur with zeal and unanimity in our several stations to maintain that excellent Constitution, in which Liberty and Obedience are so happily blended: And instead of being jealous of that moderate share of power with which the State is still invested, let us, at this dangerous juncture, assist rather to strengthen the hands of Government, that it may be able effectually to wield the sword committed to its charge, for the protection of this People and the true Religion established among us. And may the *God of Peace, who maketh men to be of one mind in an house, stablish, strengthen, settle, us. To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.*

